1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13
Angola FP1

'Kimbundu', Imbangala, &c.). The Esele and the Mbuĩ, on the north-west, may belong to the Western Province but they have not yet been surely classified.[1]

These neighbouring peoples have been listed only as background for studying the Ovimbundu. Linguistically the Ovimbundu belong to South Africa even as their country geographically is a part of it. 'In respect of climate and vegetation Angola is essentially a borderland and may be regarded as the area of mergence of several distinct zones which attain their fullest development outside the Colony.'[2] Since the Benguela Highland comprises the north-western ridges of the South African sub-continental plateau, it is not surprising that its inhabitants should be the northernmost of the Southern Bantu.[3]

European Administration, Communications, Missions

As a Portuguese colony, Angola is governed under the Ministry of Colonies in Lisbon by a Governor-General whose residence is Luanda, the capital of the colony since 1576. For administrative purposes the colony is divided into five provinces, each with a governor in charge. These are divided into thirteen districts which in turn are divided into circumscriptions and these again into administrative areas. The country of the Ovimbundu is divided between the provinces of Benguela, Bié, and Huila in the districts of Benguela, Huambo, Cuanza-Sul, Bié, and Huila. 'Direct rule' is the method of administration and native political

[1] Ibid.

[2] Walter Fitzgerald, *Africa, a Social, Economic and Political Geography of its Major Regions* (London: Methuen, 1934).

[3] The general census of 1940 (*vide supra*, p. 7, note 2) showed the population as follows:

Whites . .	44,083
Mixed . .	28,035
Blacks . .	3,665,829
Others . .	63
	3,738,010 (op. cit., vol. i, p. 78 f.)

Of the various tribal divisions, the Ovimbundu ('Mbundo') are listed with 1,331,087 (op. cit., vol. ix, p. 23). Owing to the mistaken inclusion of several small tribal groups, this number should probably be reduced by at least 150,000, but on the other hand there are without doubt more Ovimbundu than this last number who have emigrated to neighbouring colonies and to the Union of South Africa.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

Ovimbundu and their neighbours. I have no tables representative of the Umbundu-speaking *diaspora* at the coast and in other outlying regions. There is an interesting and significant article in *Africa*[1] on those of these *diaspora* which are settled in the Mossamedes–Lubango area. The author has done all that could be expected within the limits of an article necessarily short, and it is to be hoped that subsequent writings may clear up matters left in doubt, especially with regard to the present social structure of the groups described.[2]

The social structure described in this chapter is that of the main body of the Ovimbundu. I may say that from observations and from a study of the genealogical tables collected, I have concluded that the structure of kinship and of social life is fairly homogeneous throughout the several tribes.

The Tribe

A complete enumeration of the Umbundu-speaking tribes or kingdoms with descriptions of their reciprocal relations is included in Chapter XII. Almost half of the twenty-two kingdoms were generally tributaries of one of the larger or more powerful kings, so that for practical purposes the Ovimbundu may be divided into eight or ten tribal groups. Although more than half of the Umbundu kingdoms may be said to be feudatories of the larger ones, it is nevertheless true that each of them had its own separate

[1] C. Estermann, 'Coutumes des Mbali du Sud d'Angola', *Africa*, Jan. 1939, pp. 74–86. The author states that their language is Kimbundu (of Luanda-Malange), but the examples which he gives show that although there are words borrowed from Kimbundu, from Portuguese, and from other sources, the structure both of verbs and of nouns and the method of 'Bantuization' of Portuguese words belong to Umbundu. These people may declare their language to be 'Kimbundu' in imitation of the European usage. So did the native 'Mohongo' taken to Paris by the Mission Rohan-Chabot (*Angola et Rhodesie*, Paris, 1914). I have personally ascertained that Umbundu is commonly spoken in Mossamedes and may also say that the samples of the language given in this article show it to be much the same as that spoken in the cities of Benguela, Lobito, &c. It would be better if an orthography more nearly like that recommended by the International African Institute were used. The term 'Mbali' (va Mbali, Mambari, Ovimbali) is an Umbundu term used for nearly one hundred years to designate those who imitate the Europeans or who live at or near the European towns which are collectively designated by the cognate term—*Lupali*. (For 'Mambari', &c., *vide* Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, pp. 91 f., 271, 384, &c.)

[2] e.g., who is the '*tante* de la jeune mariée ou la "marraine" des noces'? (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

631 life and each could be taken as a unit complete in itself. Individual studies and comparisons of one with another would provide much valuable material. Familiarity with individuals and groups belong-
[184] ing to all the major tribal groups, and study of their folk-lore and customs has led me to conclude that as in language, so in social structure and in culture, the differences are of small account. In offering illustrative material, I shall give its tribal source.

The King

643 To describe the royal office and functions it would be necessary
177 to use the past tense. That reason, along with others, leads me to exclude this subject from the present study. Effective European occupation of the country and government by direct rule[1] have atrophied the royal office among the Ovimbundu until to-day kings survive as hardly more than living museum pieces. This being the case, I shall only enumerate the royal functions, very briefly characterize them, and pass on to describe other and living parts of the Umbundu social organism.

643 The principal functions of the royal office were:

776 1. *Religious.* The spirits of the king's ancestors were the principal national deities. The king was not only high priest but
[778] also the visible vice-regent and incarnation of the spirits. The sacrifices at the royal shrine, *kakokoto* (literally, at the skulls), the place of the royal skulls, were for the nation in order:

643 (*a*) *To control the elements*, i.e. to ensure a sufficient supply of
372 rain and avoid the dangers caused by hail, by lightning, &c. Also
789 to control fire by providing a new fire properly (ceremonially) kindled from which everyone took his fire. A king's reign was spoken of as 'during the Water of Lord So-and-so' (*Kovava a Ñalã Ngandi*), or 'during the Fire of Lord So-and-so' (*Kondalu ya Ñalã Ngandi*).

241 (*b*) *To ensure fertility*, toward which desideratum the royal
644 marriage had great influence. The queen's special province was
[782] agriculture and her kitchen was sanctified by human sacrifice to guarantee the national food supply. Ceremonially treated seed was distributed to be mixed with the seed of each granary.

[1] 'Direct rule' is applied in most parts of Africa where European settlement is the predominant consideration and also where centralized government is the ideal. 'Indirect rule' is best illustrated in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory.

1: Childs M-S (1934-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

This so-called democratic streak is also abundantly attested by folk-tales which give incidental and intimate pictures of petty details in the life of kings. There is one in which a king gives instructions for caring for his field while he is absent on a war party; another which tells of a fine levied on a man who while hiding up a tree accidentally urinated on a king; another, of a king who in a time of hunger himself climbed a tree for the *epãli* fruit and nearly starved when the prop by which he had climbed was taken away. Recent arrivals in Africa upon meeting some king just coming up from work in his fields may at first conclude, as did I, that this extreme of 'democracy' is due to the low estate to which royalty has fallen in these latter days, but these historical and legendary references show that this 'democracy', such as it is, is not a degeneration but an essential part of the picture.

With this I shall have to leave royalty. I trust that enough of the picture has been given, and enough also to show what inherent interest would lie in a study of such a Divine King who is at the same time a sort of 'democratic' leader. Should 'indirect rule' ever come to this part of Africa, a resurrection of the royal office would be the order of the day as has been the case in Tanganyika Territory and in the Belgian Congo. For this additional reason an early and a thorough treatment of the subject is to be desired.

Sub-Tribes

Each of the kings of the Ovimbundu was an overlord, for the tribe was made up of a number of sub-tribes called *otumbu* (plural), a word derived from the verb *oku tumbulula*, to transplant. Some of these princes, whether of the blood-royal or not, themselves established dynasties, while others were newly appointed and promoted from time to time. Some of the *otumbu* were ruled by court officials not of royal birth, while others belonged to separate dynasties some of which were natives of the respective regions, at least more anciently native than was the paramount royal family. The kingdom of Bailundu had about 200 *otumbu*, each of which had from 3 to 300 villages or more, and a number of the larger *otumbu* were themselves made up of several smaller

Records in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 3 Ser., p. 488 f.; L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika* (tr. Hunfalvy, Pesth, 1859), p. 276.

1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

ones. This situation was reported by Magyar, when he wrote, 'Quibanda (should be Civanda) to the east has 500 villages. The Chief has great power. He sends tribute every year to the king of Bailundu but is himself fully independent.'[1] Magyar described about 15 *atumbu* or '*ocikandacko*',[2] as he called them, of Bailundu. He estimated the population of Bailundu at 450,000, and for all the kingdoms of the Ovimbundu 1,200,000,[3] figures which are probably not very different from present-day facts. The report and description of the 'Capitania de Benguella' in 1799 said that the king of Bailundu dominated 2,056 villages; the king of Viye, 886; and the king of Ngalangi, 900; and listed their 'feudos' respectively as 82, 54, and 78.[4] My list of the Ngalangi *atumbu* shows 112. In Bailundu about 20 *atumbu* were ruled by members of the royal family, including heirs apparent or expectant, and the queen (*Inakulu*), who also had her own establishment.[5] About 20 were ruled by other court officials.

Most of these *atumbu* are still recognized as such or as *olombala*.[6] Their decay has not been as great as that of the *ombala*[6] of their liege lord, for they still fulfil certain functions in native life. They have also been given new functions by the administrative authorities. The minor chiefs as well as village headmen are all required to assist in assessing and collecting the native tax, and also in recruiting labour for government works and for contracts. In some areas they receive in return the remission of their own taxes. In some areas they are required to wear uniforms. On the dancing floors of most of these minor *olombala* courts are still held, justice determined, and (to a limited extent) fines 'eaten'. Such judgements are not officially recognized or allowed by the European authorities. The African, however, often finds that European courts do not meet his needs or accord with his concepts of justice.

[1] Magyar, op. cit., p. 389.

[2] Umbundu *ocikanjo* (plural), 'breasthes', a term which through commercial or European influence is applied to the *atumbu*.

[3] For these figures and for descriptions of the several kingdoms, see Magyar, op. cit., chap. ix.

[4] *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 4a Ser., pp. 155 ff.

[5] Magyar, op. cit., p. 390.

[6] *Olombala*, plural of *ombala*, a capital village or chief's residence.

1: Childs M-S (1824-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY OF THE OVIMBUNDU

Heavy continuous line indicates elevation of 1,500 metres (4,920 ft.).

Broken lines indicate Umbundu political boundaries.

● Principal capital towns (ekunbalo) numbered 1 to 14.

1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g, 1h, tributaries of Bailundu; 2a, tributaries (Ngangela) of Viye; 3a, tributaries of Ngalangi; 3a, tributary of Civula; 4a, tributary of Wambu.

Portuguese presidios with dates of founding (numbered I—XIV).

[Facing p. 167]

1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

172 fied towns of the natives as *quipacas*, a word adapted from the Umbundu word *ocimbaka*, meaning a wall. The word for the palisade with which their villages are now enclosed is *olambo*. Until evidence is adduced to the contrary, it seems that we must conclude that the stone-walled ruins found throughout the Umbundu country were built by Ovimbundu or by their immediate (Bantu) predecessors. As the ruins of Rhodesia and Mozambique seem to have been built by Bantu under Arab or Malay influences, so the Ovimbundu may have modelled their fortifications on the Portuguese forts which they had seen at Caconda, at the coast, along the Kuanza River, or even the walls with which individual traders fortified their establishments. These various forts were first built between 1575 and 1603, and it is probable that individual Ovimbundu themselves took part in some of the building operations.

Tribal Divisions of the Ovimbundu

•631 101 Before going on with Umbundu history let us fix in mind the principal kingdoms, tribes, or divisions of the Ovimbundu and their present location with reference to one another and to their other neighbours. This may most easily be seen with the aid of the accompanying map.[1] Their mutual relations prior to effective Portuguese occupation, whether of dependence or independence, are also shown. These are the divisions the Ovimbundu were found to have at the beginning of the present century, and these are the divisions still recognized by them, although they no longer retain their former political significance. It is of interest to find that according to Ladislau Magyar, who lived in and travelled through the Umbundu country from 1849 until 1857,[2] essentially these same divisions were then in existence. Under date of 1 August 1799 the Governor of Benguela reported on the 'provinces' and people in the hinterland.[3] It is significant to find that the divisions of the Ovimbundu were then essentially the same as they are

[1] Facing p. 164.

[2] Ladislau Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika* (tr. Hunfalvy), Pesth, 1859. Magyar made 'Quipeyo' (Cipeyo) a part of Bailundo and Sambu a sort of tributary. 'Quibala' (Civula), he said, paid tribute to 'Quiyaka' (Ciyaka).

[3] See *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 4a Ser., pp. 147–61 (*parte não official*). This report made 'Quipeyo' tributary to Huambo, 'Ondura' (Ndulu) to Bailundo. Several kingdoms, later tributaries of Ciyaka, were listed as independent.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

to-day.[1] The principal Umbundu-speaking groups may be listed as follows:

I. *Independent kingdoms* (in approximate order of their present population):

Mbailundu (*Bailundo*).
Viye (*Bie* or *Bihe*).
Wambu (*Huambo*, *Huamba*, or even *Hambo*).
Ciyaka (*Quiyaca* or *Quiaca*).
Ngalangi (*Galangue*).
Civula[2] (*Quibula*).
Ndulu[2] (*Andulo*, *Ondulo* or even *Ondura*).
Cingolo (*Quingolo*).
Kalukembe (*Caluquembe*, *Caluguembe*, or even *Caluqueme*).
Sambu[2] (*Sambo* or *Sambos*).
Ekekete (*Quiquete*).
Kakonda or Cilombo-coñoma (*Caconda* or *Quilombo*).
Citata (*Quitata*).

II. *Kingdoms generally tributary but not integral parts of the kingdoms to which they owed allegiance*:

Kasongi (*Cassongue*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Ngalanga (*Galanga*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Civanda (*Quibanda*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Namba—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Sanga—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Cenge (*Chiengue*)—generally a tributary of Bailundu.
Cipeyo (*Quipeyo*)—a tributary of Bailundu or Wambu.
Mbongo (*Bongo*)—generally a tributary of Wambu.
Elende (*Lende*)—generally a tributary of Ciyaka.

Nearly all of these groups are listed in the report of 1799 to which we have referred, and many of them may be identified on the map of 1776. How long before that had they lived in these their present homes? Since it is already well established that none of the Southern Bantu are autochthonous, we shall not stop to ask

[1] Neither of these accounts mentioned Kasongi, which, according to genealogical evidence, is probably one of the most recently formed of the Umbundu-speaking groups. Both accounts made the non-Umbundu-speaking regions of 'Quibala' (Cipala), Mussende, and Cella tributaries of Bailundu. This was the state of affairs as late as 1893.

[2] See *supra*, p. 167, n. 2.

1

THE OVIMBUNDU OF ANGOLA

GROUPING AND DEMOGRAPHY

NOMENCLATURE

101 The name *Ovimbundu*, which possibly derives from the same root as *umuntu*, seems to have been adopted as a tribal name in fairly recent times, the various groups being formerly known separately as Bailundu, Ciyaka, Viye etc. Correct rendering in native usage is Ovimbundu (singular *Ovimbundu*);[1] variations include *mbundu*, *u'bundu*, *vimbundu*, *quimbundu*, *kimbundu*[2] etc. *Umbundu* is correctly used adjectivally and to refer to the language.[3] In referring to the tribe the prefixes *Ovi-* and *Ori-* are usually retained today to avoid confusion with the *Kimbundu* (also called *Ambundu*, *Ngola* or *Ndongo*) tribe, located north of the Ovimbundu in Luanda, and related linguistically to the peoples of the Kongo group.[4]

The terms *Wakamano* (*Vakamano*, *Vanano*, or *Mamano*) and *Ovimboli* (*Mbari*, *Mambari*, *Mbali*) are sometimes used in the literature as alternative names for the Ovimbundu. *Nano* means "up-country", *Vakamano* "people of the north".[5] Both van Balen[6] and Guthrie[7] give it as an alternative name for the Ovimbundu as a whole, while earlier writers restrict its application to one or other group within the tribe. Thus Serpa Pinto[8] and Capello and Ivens[9] use it for the inhabitants of the southern part of the plateau, between Cacundo and Cilengo country.[10] Magyar, on the other hand, uses it as an alternative name for the Bailundu group, who "because of their bravery, are celebrated far and wide, under the feared name *Mamano*".[11]

Mbali, or more correctly *Ovimboli*, is correctly an Umbundu term for those who imitate Europeans, or who live near European towns, which are collectively called *lupoli*.[12] It is frequently used by early writers for example, by Livingstone,[13] to refer to the Ovimbundu of the trading caravans.

GROUPING

101 The Ovimbundu do not have a centralised political organisation, but
L31 are divided into a number of chiefdoms, each traditionally under the control of a paramount chief. The following list of chiefdoms is quoted

(1) Childs, 1949, p.xi.
(2) Magyar uses *Kimbundu* for the Ovimbundu, but he does not confuse them, as Jesuport does, with the Kimbundu people.
(3) Childs, *loc. cit.*
(4) Ibid. Capello and Ivens, 1882 (vol.I, p.25) use *u'bundo* for the language of the Ovimbundu, to distinguish it from the *u'bundo* of Luanda. They give *quimbundo* as an alternative for *u'bundo*, and state that it is a dialect of the *lu-sono* language.
(5) Childs, personal communication.
(6) 1949, p.179. (7) 1949.
(8) 1881, vol.I, pp.96, 229. (9) 1882, vol.I, p.97.
(10) See also Chatelain, 1894, p.4 and Marquardsen 1920, map.
(11) 1859, p.385.
(12) Childs, 1949, p.19. (13) 1857, pp.91, 271, 384 etc. See also White, 1949.

from Child's monograph,[1] alternative spellings which occur in the literature being given in brackets. These divisions closely resemble those described in 1799 by the Governor of Benguella,[2] and by Magyar, who lived in and travelled through Ovimbundu country from 1849 to 1857. Ovimbundu today still think of themselves as belonging to one or other of these groups, although owing to the decay of the power of the chiefs, the divisions have largely lost their political significance.[3] Of the twenty-two Ovimbundu chiefdoms, about half were generally tributary to one or other of the larger and more powerful groups, prior to effective Portuguese occupation.[4]

I. *Independent chiefdoms (in approximate order according to the size of their present populations).*

Bailundo	(Bailundo, bellundo, Belundo, Belundo)
Viye	(Ovi Ye, Bie, Bihe, Biemo, Bihemo)
Ambo	(Ombo, Hombo, Nombo)
Civoko	(Quiyaca, Quieca)
Ngalangi	(Galangue, Galango, Galangi, Ngalangi)
Civulo	(Quibula)
Ndulo	(Andulo, Ondulo, Ondura)
Cingolo	(Quingulo)
Kalukembe	(Calequembe, Calequembe, Calequeme)
Sambu	(Sambo, Sambou)
Ekekete	(Quiquete)
Kakonda or Civombo-comano	(Cacunda or Quilombo)
Citata	(Quitata)

II. *Chiefdoms generally tributary but not integral parts of the chiefdoms to which they owed allegiance.*

Kasongi[5]	(Cassongue).	Generally tributary to Bailundo.			
Ngalanga	(Galanga)	"	"	"	"
Civendo	(Quibundo)	"	"	"	"
Nambo		"	"	"	"
Sanga		"	"	"	"
Cenge	(Chienge)	"	"	"	"
Cipeyo	(Quipeyo)	"	"	"	"
		or Ambo.			
Mbango	(Bango).	Generally tributary to Ambo.			
Elonde	(Londe).	"	"	"	Civoko.

LOCATION

The homeland of the Ovimbundu is the Benguella Highland in west central Angola. Strictly speaking, the Highland comprises those regions which have

(1) 1949, p. 168.
(2) Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes, 4a. Ser., pp.147-161. (Quoted by Childe)
(3) Childe, personal communication.
(4) i.e. prior to about 1900.
(5) Kasongi is not mentioned by Magyar, and Childe believes it to be one of the most recently-formed groups of Ovimbundu.

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an elevation of 4,000 feet or more, and the boundaries of Ovimbundu territory closely correspond with this area.[1] Ovimbundu are found also in regions adjoining the Highland, and Umbundu-speaking groups stretch as far as the Atlantic coast-line, between the towns of Lobito and Benguella. Ovimbundu country is divided between the Administrative Provinces of Bie, Benguella, and Huila, in the Districts of Benguella, Huambo, Cuanza Sul, Bie and Huila.

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NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

To the east and south-east of the Ovimbundu are the Lunda, Luchazi, Mbundu, Mbwela, etc., for all of whom the Ovimbundu use the derogatory term Ngangela, or Ganguella in the Portuguese version.[2] The Ovimbundu attitude towards these people is illustrated in the proverb "as a grass but is not a house, so an ocingangela is not a person".[3] This eastern region was a favourite hunting-ground for slave-traders from Viye and Bailundu.

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[188]

To the north-east are the Chokwe, Bangala and Songo peoples, who are related to the Lunda group.[4]

To the west and south of the Ovimbundu are cattle-keeping peoples - the Nganda, Nkumbi, Hanya, Cilenge, Cipungo, Huila, Nyaneka, Holondo and Khumbi. These form a fairly homogeneous cultural group, and are in certain respects similar to the southern Ovimbundu.[5] Childe, following Estermann,[6] uses the collective name "Benguela" in referring to them, but in order to avoid confusion with the Bangala tribe to the north-east, this usage is not adopted here. Still further south are the Ambo and Herero, also cattle-keepers.

The tribes to the north of the Ovimbundu - Ewale, Cipala, Lupolo, Ndongo or Kimbundu etc. - belong to the western or Angola 'cluster' of the Congo people.[7] The Ewale (Wasela) and Mbui (Ambuim) may also belong to this group, but have not yet been surely classified.[8] The northern tribes are sometimes collectively called by the Ovimbundu Olongoyo, a term which implies that they speak a language unintelligible to the Ovimbundu, but which has not the derogatory sense of "Ngangela".[9] Unlike the eastern peoples, the peoples to the south and north of the Ovimbundu are recognised as ovanu (people), or even ovakuetu (comrades).[10]

[188]

STRENGTH

The 1940 Angola Census[11] estimates the number of Ovimbundu (Mbundu) as 1,331,987, of whom 694,504 are females, 636,583 males. Childe[12] points out that this number should be decreased by at least 150,000 owing to the erroneous inclusion of several small non-Ovimbundu tribal groups.

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(1) See map.
(2) See McCulloch, 1951, p.32.
(3) The term used for "person" in the proverb is ocuma, a "potential" person - a word used for adolescents. See pp. below.
(4) The Bangala are sometimes held to be related to the Congo rather than the Lunda group.
(5) See below, p.
(6) Childe, 1948, p.8.
(7) Ibid., p.189.
(8) 1935, pp.45-69.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Ibid., p.v.
(11) Quoted by Mendes Correia, 1943, p.421, and Barbosa, 1948.
(12) 1948, p.9.

7

Magyar's account of the Viye legend is of interest since it suggests a direct link between the movements of the Ovimbundu ancestors and contemporary migrations of the Lunda in the Congo basin and western Angola.(1) Magyar relates that the forefathers of the Viye came from the land of the Mbuqe (or Lunda(2)) under the two chiefs Kinguri and Schakombindi, conquered the Songo, and settled on the Luando river, engaging in agriculture between raids. The tribe subsequently sub-divided, one group going southwards to the Kukema river, where Ngangela were living, to found the chiefdom of Viye.

Ngalangi tradition is the only one which attempts a creation myth. Feti, the first chief of Ngalangi, is said to have "come down from above"; having no wives, he went to a lagoon of the Kunene river and caught them as they came out of the reeds. Sima of Feti drove out the Ngangela from what is now Ngalangi country, and founded their principal village.(3) Childs estimates that this must have taken place in about 1750. The village was later attacked unsuccessfully by Ngangela, and this is one of the very few traditions which mention resistance met by the invaders.

Wambu. The first chief, Wambu Kalunga, is said to have come from Sele country, north-east of Bailundo. The Nganda, who now live south-west of Umbundu country and are of Southern Bantu stock, were previously living in Wambu country. The founder of the Ciyaka royal family is said to have been a relative of Wambu Kalunga, and to have driven out the Nimbe (also of Southern Bantu stock) from Ciyaka country, probably during the first half of the seventeenth century. Wambu Kalunga is said to have been also the progenitor of the dynasties of Cingolo, Citata or Cikuma, Kalukembe, Elundu and Ekekete.(4)

Kakonda, the founder of the Kakonda kingdom, was of northern stock, but born in Ngalangi, whence he was sold as a slave to Benguella. He escaped with his wife, Cilombo, and set up the present kingdom in about 1760.

Cengi, Songo, Nambo and Kasongi on the northern flank of Bailundo have only recently become Umbundu-speaking. Kasongi, one of the largest Bailundo tributaries, has however had a line of Umbundu-speaking chiefs for more than 200 years. Cisolo was listed by Magyar as tributary to Ciyaka. Kalukembe is of interest in that it is more closely linked than other sections of the Ovimbundu with the Nganda-Ambo group. Factors which point to this closer link include: the similarities in language between the two groups; the inheritance of the Kalukembe kingship in the maternal line, as among the Nganda-Ambo group, and not in the paternal line, as among other Ovimbundu;(5) and the fact that the Nganda-Ambo, who have an exogamous clan organization, may marry in any of the related Nganda-Ambo groups, and for this purpose include Kalukembe but not other Ovimbundu.(6)

(1) McCulloch 1951, pp.191., 2221., 2711.
(2) Dias de Carvalho 1890, p.66.
(3) According to the same legend, where the Ngalangi rested their loads of food and household goods, sticks took root and became the sycamore figs which to this day encircle the capital village. This circle of trees is a characteristic of the older Ngangela villages.
(4) Childs op.cit., pp.178, 225.
(5) Although descent among Ovimbundu commoners is in the maternal line.
(6) Childs, op.cit., p.178.

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advancement, will go to the head of their olutse to ask for his intercession with the spirits.(1)

622 623 691

As legal head of the village, the sekulu yitabo presides over both the more serious cases, which are held before the whole village on the dance-floor, and the simpler ones, which require the attendance only of those concerned, together with their respective elders, and may be taken up either in the onjango or in the headman's own courtyard. Hambly seems to suggest that all the section-heads act with the village headman as a kind of council, but does not give details. He states also that the olosekulu (sing. sekulu) of the village formerly had charge of trials for murder, theft, adultery, and arguments over land,(2) and points out that they were more active in the legal system than the chiefs.(3) This is even more true today, when the village court of justice continues to function in spite of political and administrative changes, although the offices of chiefs and to some extent of sub-chiefs have largely decayed. [177]

622 423 651 466 [463]

Other functions of the village headman include: the distribution of land to the various families when new village sites are opened;(4) the direction of the communal fire-hunts;(5) and, today, the collecting of taxes from the villagers and the direction and organisation of labour to work on the roads.(6) But however numerous the headman's official duties, he usually finds some time to attend to his own affairs, whether he is a farmer, hunter, or trader.(7)

622 693

Succession to headmanship is usually from father to son or from elder to younger brother, "with only so much recognition of primogeniture as belongs to the general ... hierarchy of age."(8) Succession is, however, affected by the "democratic" tendencies in succession to chieftainship.(9)

The Chief (ocema or ovo)(10)

631 643

The Ovimbundu are grouped in 22 chiefdoms, of which half were in the past generally tributary to the more powerful chiefs.(11) At the same time each chiefdom had its separate government and could be considered as a unit in itself. Effective European occupation and direct rule have atrophied the chiefly office among the Ovimbundu, until today chiefs survive as little more than "living museum pieces".(12) Childe(13) enumerates the functions of the chiefly office as follows: [177]

643 793 769

(a) *Religious.* The chief's ancestral spirits were the principal chiefdom deities, and the king was high-priest as well as the visible "vice-regent and incarnation" of the spirits.

(1) Childe, personal communication.
(2) The maternal uncle is responsible for settling disputes over property which occur within the olutse. (Hambly op.cit., p.200).
(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Cadenas, op.cit., p.115. (6) Ibid., p.121.
(7) Childe, op.cit., p.30. (8) Ibid., p.44.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Ocema means *chief or king.* Ovo is the personalized form used with the name. This the Portuguese writers have corrupted into ovo or ovo.
(Childe, personal communication)
(11) See above, p.2.
(12) Childe, op.cit., p.30. (13) Ibid.

lives of chiefs.(1)

The chief's council and court

It has been noted that there is a chiefdom council responsible for electing the chief or deposing him, and for sitting with him in law cases. The composition of this council has not been clearly described.(2)

The Sub-chief

The chiefdom(3) was made up of a number of sub-chiefdoms called *ombo* (sing. *ombo*); Bailundu had about 200 *ombo*, each of which had from 3 to more than 300 villages, while a number of the larger *ombo* were themselves made up of smaller ones. About 20 *ombo* were ruled by members of the chiefly family, including heirs apparent or expectant, and the chief's wife (*inahula*) had also her own sub-chiefdom.(4) Others were ruled by court officials not of royal birth, who sometimes themselves established dynasties, others again by dynasties native to the respective regions, or at least dynasties longer resident in the area than the chiefly family. Villages of sub-chiefs, like those of chiefs, are known as *olombolo*. Most of the *ombo* are still recognised, and the sub-chiefs have retained more of their old functions than have the chiefs, and have in addition been given new functions. They as well as village headmen are required to assist in assessing and collecting native tax,(5) and also in recruiting labour for government work and for contracts. In some areas they receive in return the remission of their own taxes. On the dancing floor of most of their *olombolo* cases are still heard, judgments given and fines received, although such judgments are not officially recognised or allowed by the European authorities.(6)

LAW

Courts

Very little information is available. We are told that certain disputes, e.g. concerning inheritance, are settled within the *olonja*;(7) that in the village cases are tried by a council which apparently consists of the section-heads under the leadership of the village headman;(8) and that these village courts continue to function; that certain cases (unspecified) are still unofficially heard in the courts of the sub-chiefs; and that prior to European occupation the paramount chief's decision was final.

(1) Ibid., p.23. But chiefs were treated with respect; Hambly (1934, p.214) notes that the ancient custom was for commoners to fall on their knees when greeting a chief, and today this still applies to women and children although less often to men.
(2) See Serpa Pinto, 1881, p.167.
(3) Most writers use "kingdom" and "king"; "chief" when used here without qualification refers always to the paramount chief of one of the 22 chiefdoms.
(4) Bagyer, 1851, pp.289f, also quoted by Childs, op.cit., p.24.
(5) The amount of the tax levied on all males from 16 years to pay Aps. 300,000 annually. As noted by Childs (p.215-6), it has been steadily increasing. Opportunities for earning are comparatively small in Angola, and men go far from of work, but because of "contract labour" required of all males in addition to taxes. Payment for "contract labour" is considerably below current wages, and it is a great hindrance to productive agricultural activities. (Childs, personal communication)
(6) Childs, op.cit., pp.24-5.
(7) Hambly, (2) 1934, p.208.
(8) See above, p.29.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

613 *mai* (or *oluisa*) mean "family of my mother." These terms seem to indicate a bilateral rather than a unilateral lineage. Inquiry did not show that there were totems for the mother's or the father's people, or that marriage into any particular local group was com-
631 manded or enjoined. A village is a unit under the administration of a chief (*sekulu*) and as such is part of a large group of villages forming a kingdom ruled by a king (*ocoso*), but such village units are concerned with government and warfare, not with exogamy.

613 565 In tracing descent an Ocimbundu gives the names of relatives of both the father and mother, but commoners are unlikely to know the names of their relatives beyond the grandparent class. The children of a king were at one time able to recite many generations
[582] of ancestors along both parental lines. But if the king had married a commoner, as he was allowed to do after choosing his first wife from the royal line, the children knew only the genealogy of their father. This is obvious since the commoner mother would not be likely to know her line of descent. The son of a village chief (*sekulu*) may marry a commoner, but, according to Ngonga, the *sekulu*, his father, "would have a very good look at her."

582 565 Ngonga had not heard of the marriage of brothers and sisters, not even in the royal family; the idea of such a union was new and repulsive to him. In Umbundu society there would be no necessity for such a marriage as that of brother and sister or other close relative, because members of a royal family of one part of the country could intermarry with members of a royal family in some area far away. There might, for example, be marriages between the royal families of Bailundu and Ngalangi, which are two principal kingships of the Ovimbundu confederacy.

835 684 When asked what would be the fate of a man who committed incest with his blood daughter or uterine sister, Ngonga said he would be killed by his brother or by his mother's brother. If he escaped he would have to go far away so that his people could never see him again. If a fine were accepted for incest, the culprit would have to pay his own kin "because he had shamed them."

601 Table A, Ngonga's Own Generation, calls attention to a plurality of terms for brother and sister according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed. Moreover, there is a term for direct address and another which is used when speaking of a brother or sister.

Ngonga was questioned with regard to forms of address for his brothers and sisters other than the children of his uterine mother.

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Bailundo.[13] On the kinship system, however, I was even more disappointed. The information which I was given on the matrilineal groups formerly existing was much less than that provided by Hastings,[14] or by Childs,[15] and I have therefore not been able to obtain the detail for which I had hoped on the double-descent system.

Like all anthropologists I had a certain number of difficulties in making contact with the people, and to these were added the problems of finding underlying consistencies in a changing society. The Ovimbundu are not interested in genealogies and did not see why I was. My first attempts to take village censuses were regarded with great suspicion, and more than once people refused to give their names. Kinship terms and norms seemed to be and were very confused. Various matters, such as surviving pagan rituals, were concealed from me. My personal relations with the people were very happy, however, and almost everybody who came to know me was prepared to answer my questions at length.

My two great problems in the field were to obtain information on the old social structure (which I already knew in outline from the written material), and to see how the present-day society worked. The material in this thesis will be laid out in the following way. The first part will give an outline of Umbundu social structure as it was in the period 1874–1911,[16] that is, the era of the rubber trade. The second part will give a series of chapters on present day Umbundu society, which will provide the information necessary for an understanding of the mechanisms of social control. In the third part a detailed discussion of social control is made, beginning with an examination of a number of disputes. It is shown how the network of kinship and marriage ties in a neighbourhood provide local continuity and stability, while the wider units in which the Ovimbundu now participate are of European origin and control.

[13] Cassongue and Cela were tributary to Bailundo but were not incorporated into the actual kingdom (Childs, p. 168). Cassongue people say that they are not Va-Mbailundu.

[14] Hastings, Chapter VI.

[15] Hastings gives more information than Childs on the matrilineal kin group.

[16] The period of the rubber trade. Childs, pp. 202–15.

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Adapted from the map facing page 167 in Childs' *Umbundu Kinship and Character.*

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rather than any political alliance or opposition, which related the Ovimbundu as a whole to the Portuguese and the other tribes. Informants who remember 'the time of the rubber' talk about it with much more interest and much more detail than about any other aspect of the past, and it is far easier to make an ordered picture out of the narratives of the caravan journeys than to fill in the gaps in the descriptions of the political and kinship systems provided by Childs and Hastings.[57]

Politically the Ovimbundu were divided, as has been said, into several kingdoms. Bailundo, the largest of the kingdoms was divided, according to Childs into about 200 sub-chiefdoms. As it had about half a million inhabitants this would give an average population of about 2,500. While the kingdoms seem to have been more or less stable in number and boundaries from the end of the eighteenth century, the number of sub-chiefdoms seems to have increased. Thus an official Portuguese estimate made in 1799 gives Bailundo as having only 82 sub-chiefdoms, and Galangue, where Childs counted 112 sub-chiefdoms, as having 78. The sub-chiefdom paid tribute to the king, sent men for his armies, and recognized his court as the supreme arbitrator. Some sub-chiefdoms were held by ministers or relatives of the king.[58]

It is, however, not easy on the sparse detail available to decide how much autonomy the sub-chiefdoms really had. Gumba, the area where I worked, was a sub-chiefdom of the Bailundo kingdom, albeit on the north-western frontier, neighbouring Cassongue and Cela, where the people did not call themselves Va-Mbailundu, though their rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Bailundo. Old men told me of raids from Bailundo for slaves, but I cannot say if this was the result of the period of disorder mentioned, or whether sub-chiefdoms on the border of a kingdom gave only nominal submission and received only nominal protection. In the area where I worked,

[57] This is not intended as a personal reflection on Dr. Childs and the late Dr. Hastings, both of whom deserve the highest praise for their work and for their obvious devotion to the Ovimbundu. Hastings devoted far more space to the magico-religious field than to the kinship system. Likewise Childs's description of kinship is much shorter, much less detailed, and much less satisfactory than his account of childhood and adolescence, or the really outstanding historical chapter.

[58] Magyar, pp. 385–92; Childs, pp. 23–24.

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[1874-1911]

at least, the effective unit of law and self-defence was formerly the sub-chiefdom.[59]

In both sub-chiefdom and kingdom the chief (a term used here for both king and sub-chief) passed through a cycle of rites to become truly chief and was surrounded, assisted, and checked by titled ministers.[60] The future chief was selected from persons of chiefly stock. My informants stated that a new chief might be related either patrilineally or matrilineally to former chiefs; all other sources state that the chiefdom can only be held by somebody *patrilineally* of chiefly blood, with the exception of Santos Brandão writing on the Huambo kingdom.[61] The selection was the responsibility of the Mwekalia, whose role was to represent the people *vis-à-vis* the king, an opposition which is expressed in the Umbundu saying 'the chief is a guest, the Mwekalia is a man of the country'. When asked to explain this saying, the Ovimbundu point out that many chiefs come from outside the chiefdom, and also that 'If the chief does something wrong, we can send him away'.[62]

In such a constitutional deposition of the chief which nineteenth century observers describe as taking place fairly frequently,[63] the main responsibility fell on the Mwekalia. The cycle of royal rites consisted of the ceremonial entry of the chief into his capital and his taking of a new name, the rebuilding of certain shrines, a large-scale hunt, the building of an archway intended as a magical defence to the capital, and finally an act

[59] Informants.

[60] For the king and his ministers see especially Hastings, pp. 29–71 (based on Bailundo), and for other details of the royal court see Serpa Pinto, p. 167 (based on Bie).

[61] For references to patrilineal succession see Serpa Pinto, p. 159, Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca* (London, 1882), p. 81, Hastings, p. 42, Childs, p. 22. Santos Brandão (*Menstrio Administrativo*, July–August, 1950) gives a list of the kings of Huambo where there had been two successive royal lines, and this shows several cases of succession by sisters' sons. (The Umbundu text he gives makes this quite clear.)

[62] The underlying idea is not so much that the chiefly stock is of immigrant descent but rather that the people of one chiefdom call somebody from outside to rule over them, who can be sent away if he misbehaves. Of course people living within a chiefdom are not excluded, but this point about the chief being a stranger is very strongly emphasized.

[63] Childs, pp. 22–23 and references given there.

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[1874-1911]

of ritual cannibalism (*oku lia ekongo*) after which he could not be deposed.[64]

Hastings in describing the principal ministers of the Bailundo court states that the Mwekalia and the Galamboli or Ngambole (whose function was to remember traditions) were representative of the indigenous pre-Jaga stock, the Kesongo who was the war leader was a slave from another tribe, and the Otjinduli was of immigrant stock, and points out that these represent the three sources from which the Ovimbundu sprang.[65]

At the sub-chiefdom level some of the titles found in the kingdoms would be found combined, and the chief's court, where cases were judged, was composed both of titled ministers living at the chief's village and of the village headmen (some of whom were also title-holders). The sub-chief represented his people to the outer world, led them in communal ritual and judged, with his councillors,[66] their disputes. Hastings describes a case thus: 'When all the members of the court are seated in a circle, with an empty space in the centre, the plaintiff's counsel then relates the case, after which the lawyer for the defendant does likewise for his side. The chief in turn makes general comments. Lusenje, the official, whose duty it is to keep order at court and to announce the speakers, then calls on the accuser to come forward and make his statement.'[67]

While the sub-chiefdom was the largest unit in which law and order reigned undisputed, there existed alliances and cross-cutting relationships providing a contact outside its area. There was the *tjisoko* alliance which existed between two sub-chiefdoms which were separated by a third. Gumba sub-chiefdom was thus allied to Ndjandju from which it was separated by Chicunda, and messengers from Gumba and Ndjandju travelled together to Bailundo once a year to carry tribute. Apparently a sub-chiefdom had only one *tjisoko* partner. The relationship was one of funeral friendship; *vakwatjisoko* (*tjisoko* partners) undertook the burial of those who died without kinsfolk and also ordinary

[64] This is based on information from Gumba. See also Magyar, pp. 270–271; Hastings, pp. 43–45; Childs p. 81.

[65] Hastings, p. 60.

[66] Informants.

[67] Hastings, pp. 148–48.

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631 764 funerals (though these burials could be undertaken by the cross-cousins of the deceased). When *vakwatjisoko* came to their partner-chiefdom for a funeral they had the right to steal small live-stock, such as chickens, or pigeons, but not cattle, goats, or [837] pigs. An *ukwatjisoko* could sleep with the wives of his *vakwatjisoko* partners without being sued for damages.[68]

631 [602] [463] [574] The ties of kinship and affinity crossed the boundaries of the sub-chiefdoms and even of the kingdoms.[69] The members of the three spirit-protected professions, blacksmithing, divining, and hunting recognized obligations of hospitality to co-professionals from other parts of the country.[70] Again the caravans were so large that they must have involved people [437] from many sub-chiefdoms, which presupposes a wide range of contacts.

182 It may be said that the picture given here is contradictory and inadequate. How can the existence of large kingdoms be reconciled to the extreme insecurity described by old men? How do the wealthy caravan organizers fit into the political system? What sort of politics were there in the kingdoms? It is not easy to answer these questions owing to the lack of evidence, and, probably, because the kingdoms were already in decline during the latter part of the rubber trade period. Indeed, the impression that accounts of the Ovimbundu in the nineteenth century give is that of adventure, battle, commerce, migration —a vigorous rather than a stable society.[71]

61 114 The kinship system is perhaps the field of Umbundu society which has aroused most interest among anthropologists. Childs and Hastings have written much that is interesting on the old double-descent grouping but as, with the kinship system, the form has been described rather than the functioning and it is

[68] Informants. The account in Childs, pp. 114–15 differs considerably. For this institution elsewhere in Angola see Estermann, 'Clans et alliances de clans', *Anthropos*, 1952.

[69] Childs, p. 54.

[70] Informants.

[71] Magyar describes the king and his courtiers as being extremely despotic towards the villagers, and states that their despotism depended on their having a standing military force called 'Sons of the Elephant' (pp. 278–80). Later accounts do not mention this, and Childs notes (p. 209) that at the height of the rubber trade it was more difficult for the kings to recruit armies for their wars.

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[1874-1911]

It was then the father who normally exercised authority over a boy, and on the father's death a child or youth would join the household of a father's brother. Yet the right of a sister's son to the inheritance of the movable property and to grants from his mother's brother was counterbalanced by the latter's right to sell his uterine nephew into slavery, a fate from which the father could save his son by ransoming him, in which case the mother's brother would no longer have this right.[86] In this society, the mother's brother—sister's son relationship was fundamentally an economic one, in which the sister's son received assistance in the trade and inherited his uncle's gains in this trade, but could himself be transformed into a source of capital.

I now summarize the evidence on Umbundu social control and its relation with the trading economy. It is clear that the Ovimbundu belonged to the number of those African societies with pyramidal[87] political systems and formal codes and courts of law, even though there exists uncertainty as to the relative power of the kingdoms and the sub-chiefdoms. Social control also operated through the kinship system, authority at the village level being in the hands of the head of the patrilineal group backed by the public opinion expressed in the men's house, and the dispersed matrilineal groups having sanctions in the right of sale of a sister's son and in the accusations of sorcery brought against those who failed to use wealth to aid their relatives. For the caravan trade to have attained the importance it did there must also have existed something of a *pax Umbunduca* stimulated by the existence of such ties as that between *tjisoko* partners and the 'international' hospitality shown to diviners, hunters, and smiths. Evidence of this *pax Umbunduca* is provided by the organization of caravans, and by the establishment of marriage ties between persons in different kingdoms, and between different royal houses.[88] However, warfare was not unknown between the different

[86] Childs, p. 44, and my informants.

[87] See Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, Introduction to *African Political Systems*.

[88] Hastings (p. 1) notes a marriage between the daughter of a king of Bie and Ekwikwi, king of Bailundo (1876–93). Childs (p. 171) notes that Kalukuluma, king of Ndulu, was a sister's son of a king of Bailundo.

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kingdoms of the Ovimbundu, though more frequently perhaps it was made against the non-Umbundu peoples.[89]

The question of the influence of the trade provides interesting opportunities for comparison. The Ovimbundu were the southernmost of the peoples who in the nineteenth century participated in the trade between the Europeans of the West African coast and the peoples of the interior.[90] In some ways the Ovimbundu seem to have been less influenced by it than were some of the peoples further north. The Ovimbundu did not develop genuine patterns of urban life as in Dahomey or Benin.[91]

Three explanations can be offered for the relative failure of associational groups and urban society to develop. Umbundu crafts were much inferior to those found along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea; there was no indigenous weaving industry, for instance, and the goods which the caravans carried to the interior were all of European or American origin, cloths, guns, and rum.[92] For these goods the Ovimbundu were dependent on the Portuguese settled at the coast or in the Highland and this meant that the Ovimbundu were far from economic autonomy. Again the trade had a relatively short time span—the real boom period lasted only from 1886 to 1900, and earlier on in the 1840's when the beeswax, ivory, and slave trade was flourishing, the Ovimbundu had plenty of time for warfare.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that trade had only a marginal influence on Umbundu society. It has been suggested that the form of the double-descent system owes its origin to the necessity to isolate economic relations from other social fields. In the sphere of ritual, there are some remarkable copies of European practices—for instance the holding of a feast in honour of the ancestors at Christmas-time.[93] Many ritual concepts are related to the explanation of business

[89] For information on Umbundu warfare see Magyar, pp. 277–80 and Serpa Pinto, pp. 177–9.

[90] See Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1955, for a discussion of social change in other areas which had experienced a trade of a similar sort.

[91] For Dahomey see M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, New York, 1938. For Benin see R. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa), London, 1957.

[92] Childs, p. 206.

[93] Informants.

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Men can go out to work in three ways. By going to look for work in a city or on a plantation, by being recruited in his village by a travelling labour recruiter (*angariador*), or by being recruited through the post for military service or for contract labour (a period of a year's non-voluntary work).

Men who are away at work may keep in touch with their kin by letters. These are sent to the nearest Catholic or Protestant mission station according to the religious sympathies of the sender and his kin and are sent from there to the villages.

Angola forms an Overseas Province of Portugal, and is therefore subject to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon. The Overseas Provinces of Portugal are officially declared to be integral parts of Portugal, which is regarded as a nation existing in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The expression 'Here also is Portugal' is often heard in Angola.

The inhabitants of Angola are in legal status divided into 'civilized' persons, whether white, mulatto, or black, with Portuguese citizenship, and Portuguese 'natives' or 'uncivilized' persons,[1] this latter category including some 3,000 'uncivilized' mulattoes. The 1950 census gave Angola a total population of 4,145,266 of whom 135,355 were 'civilized'. This category was composed of 78,826 whites, 26,335 mulattoes, and 30,089 Africans, plus a balance of 105 presumably Goans.

The 'natives' are, unlike the 'civilized', subject to the Labour Code. There is no Native Legal Code, nor does Portuguese law apply to 'natives'. Administrative officers may apply Portuguese law, or native custom as known to them, or their own judgement.

The administration is headed by the Governor-General who resides at Luanda. The province of Angola is divided into districts each headed by a district governor. Both the governors-general and the district governors have usually distinguished themselves in the Services or in a legal career. Members of the administrative service are not usually promoted to these posts, although they may attain such positions as that of Secretary of Native Affairs.

The districts are in turn sub-divided into *concelhos* (a term

[1] By a law of 1961 Portuguese citizenship has been made universal.

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Some ten years later he was allowed to return to Gumba but died on the way back.

His successor was Simbwyikoka, who was a mother's brother's son of Mbati, that is in Umbundu terminology a 'son'. Umbundu rules of succession allow anybody to succeed to a chiefdom who is paternally or maternally related to a previous chief, whether or not this relationship is genealogically traceable.[3]

Simbwyikoka was apparently nominated to act as regent during Mbati's absence, and as he did not complete the full cycle of chiefly rites he did not have quite the same prestige among the people as a chief in his own right who 'had finished', that is, had gone through all the rites. It was he who was the last ruler of Gumba to send the annual tribute in the form of a sack of fish to Bailundo, since it was a little after the time of his accession that Kandimba[4] (or Njahulu), the last of the Bailundo royal house to have any real authority over the kingdom, died.

Simbwyikoka had lived at the hamlet of Kamballa in Gumba. When he took up office he did not settle at Mbati's village of Katembo, but established, or rather re-established, as a previous chief had ruled there, his capital[5] on the top of the narrow ridge which cuts off the greater part of Gumba from access by road. It was not possible for many people to settle on this site. Accordingly Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at the foot of the ridge, swelling the population of an already existing village. This was called Mwekalia from the headman, who held the office of Mwekalia[6] another ministerial title associated with the chiefly court.

In 1938 Simbwyikoka was deposed by the *chefe* for shielding his dependents from the operation of 'contract labour' (administrative recruitment of non-voluntary labour). About 1944

[3] My informants. This means that within (and outside) any sub-chiefdom there are a number of potential heirs who in no way receive any special status or form any kind of corporate group from this fact.

[4] Reigned at Bailundo 1911–35. Childs, p. 229

[5] In Umbundu Ombala, often transcribed in Portuguese as Embala.

[6] For the role of Mwekalia see Hastings, p. 59. His statement that the office is matrilineally inherited was not confirmed by my informants. It seems that it can be inherited either patrilineally or matrilineally. The man who was known as Mwekalia and had been headman of the village of that name did not function as such at the chief's court during my stay. A kinsman of his, Ngombe, acted as Mwekalia at the court of Lusase.

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neighbourhood and will explain his choice of residence by quoting the names of one or more of these; yet the weaving together of so many strands of kinship and affinity, ultimately through marriage links, is what gives the local population its relative degree of stability. It should be emphasized that the integration established within a village by the network of kinship and affinal ties is dependent on the integration created by the same amorphous network which runs through and beyond the sub-chiefdom. It is this network into which the individual is woven by multiple ties that absorbs the neo-matrilineal pull apparent to some degree in choice of residence and keeps the system essentially cognatic.

The use of the word *família* reflects this situation. A man may say of a particular senior kinsman '*He is my família*', that is, my kinsman, my most important kinsman with whom I have settled, yet also he may say 'My *família* is in Cela', that is, the greater part of my kinsmen live in Cela. When Bartolomeu explained that he had settled where he did because of Lusase, he was perhaps combining the two kinds of references. He had settled in Gumba because he had a large number of kinsmen there among whom Lusase was pre-eminent. A man explaining the locality of his *família* in the wider sense will associate it with a particular sub-chiefdom—'My family is all in Menga'—when he is outside it; when he is in it he is more likely to refer to a particular village.

Although individuals living in a village may have come there through several kinship sources yet the majority of them will probably have some kinship or affinal tie with the traditional headman. This collection of individual ties does not provide the headman with a body of followers, nor is having a large number of dependants a value of contemporary Umbundu culture. If it were felt that the best thing to be in life is the patron of a body of kinsmen and followers, headmanship would survive as a predominant influence in local life despite the collapse of its political and legal responsibilities. In fact not even old men feel this way.

The idea of the village as a corporate group with a jural and political personality rather than a residential unit has not survived the break-up of agnatic solidarity, the disappearance

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occurs, whether in intention as declared by Sapapula and Naboka, as accomplished as claimed by Kapapelo, as the substance of the conflict between the two men.

To sum up, Kapapelo had originally been aligned with his kinsman Guilherme against Sapapula, who had then shown hostility to Kapapelo, and especially to his wife's brother Kunumula. The latter had counter-attacked by accusing Sapapula before Justino, and there the matter might have rested if Kapapelo had not tried to attack Sapapula again, by making the threat to commit suicide at his kitchen door. This led to the moot at which the charge of attempted adultery was made, and at which Sapapula intended to, and succeeded in, taming Kapapelo.

4. *Lusase, Sapapula, and Luanga*

In this case, individuals previously met, notably Sapapula, and Lusase reappear, this time as enemies. The principal scenes are first an attempt by a kinsman of Lusase's to recover a debt from Sapapula, secondly an attack by Lusase on Sapapula, thirdly a decision by the *chefe de posto* in favour of Sapapula, fourthly a fresh complaint to the post by Luanga against Lusase, fifthly a post decision in favour of Luanga, sixthly and finally reconciliation of Luanga and Lusase.

This chain of disputes had begun actually before the episodes mentioned in the last case. On the 19th February, Ndonga a kinsman of Lusase (whom he had helped to power), arrived in Epalanga and tied up Sapapula, as a result of the latter not paying a debt. I produced the money and for the present no more was heard of it. Lusase said that he did not know what went on in the villages, when the matter was mentioned to him.

On 13th May, Simbwyikoka, a former chief whose village was near Sapapula's, was holding a ceremony in which a bull had been killed. Sapapula had taken part in the ceremony and had been responsible for sending a leg of the bull (the chief's traditional prerogative) not to Lusase but to Kafelo, who, although he had been deposed in 1954, had the advantage over Lusase of having passed through the royal rituals, and

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having been elected according to traditional rules. Lusase was angry at this, turned up at the ceremony, and attacked Sapapula.

The following morning Epalanga buzzed with indignation. Gregorio, the chief of Menga, and Mandumba, Sapapula's son, had arrived at Epalanga to express their support, and Gregorio asked me[9] to write a letter to the Mission to get its support against Lusase at the post. I said that I would go to the chief's village to persuade Lusase to seek a reconciliation. The elder Wasuka, a cross-cousin of Sapapula, declared that even if Lusase offered five cattle in compensation they would not be accepted, and Sapapula's supporters portrayed him as a much injured man, repeatedly the victim of the Guilherme, Kapapelo, Lusase, Ndonga clique. My offer to go to the chief's village fell through when we heard that Lusase was now no longer there, but near, apparently at Simbwyikoka's.

I suggested that the moot should be held at Simbwyikoka's since the case had begun there; the others said 'No, let him come over here.' The crowd settled down in the open space before my house. News was then brought to us that Lusase refused to come over and insisted on the people coming to him, declaring that he ruled all, and did not obey the anthropologist but only the *chefe*. Accordingly everybody got up and walked over to Simbwyikoka's. Here we leant that Lusase had fled. Kambungo[10], an elder of Menga and kinsmen of Sapapula, declared that somebody who behaved like this could not be chief. Gregorio the chief of Menga became involved in an argument with Ndonga, who he said was responsible for installing Lusase. This Ndonga denied. This, incidentally, was the first time that I had heard that Lusase was not properly elected. As previously noted on the fall of Kafelo, Lusase had arrived at the post and announced himself as being the new chief. The Gumba people did not protest about this for fear of possible reactions from the post.

It now became known that Lusase could not be found.

[9] It may be suggested that my interventions were not in accordance with anthropological etiquette. It is difficult to see what else I could have done; it is, after all, the local custom for 'civilised' persons to provide letters of recommendation, and a refusal on my part would not have been understood.

[10] He has been mentioned in Chapter V.

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People said that he had fled to the house of his sister's son Guilherme en route for the post; Gregorio now said to me that Lusase had made advances to Nahoka, trying to seduce her by saying that Sapapula was old.

On the same day Sapapula left for the post with, as his witnesses, Nahoka and Wasuka carrying a letter of recommendation from me. At the post the *chefe* took his part and told Lusase 'Sapapula is your father' and made Lusase kneel down to seek pardon. Sapapula said that he wished to move across the river into Menga, where he had formerly lived. The *chefe* told him to stay at Epalanga (because of the anthropologist's presence there), but transferred Epalanga administratively from Gumba to Chicunda. This settlement pleased the Epalanga people. It may be added that had Sapapula actually crossed over, a number of householders, including Paulo, would not have followed him.

Despite the *chefe's* acts it was not certain whether the change was to be given effect immediately or only after the *chefe's* annual visit; hence some more wrangling took place over the question of where Epalanga was situated for such purposes as the payment of fines for rum-brewing.

Luanga, who shared with Sapapula the title of Epalanga, came to my house on the night of the 27th June to ask for a letter to the *chefe de posto*. He told me that Lusase wanted to take away his title of Epalanga and send him to contract (non-voluntary) labour. I suggested that we should go together to see Lusase at his village on the following day. The next morning he decided not to go to the chief but to go straight to the post with his wife Adriana. He told me that when Lusase became chief in 1954, he and his 'brother' Mwehombo had bought the title of Epalanga (held under Kafelo by Sapapula) which they held jointly. Luanga had paid for this two pigs equal to 1,000 escudos (about £12. 10s. in British currency) and other things as well. Luanga's motive was not political power (which the present-day chief lacks and of which his ministers have even less) nor prestige, but because he would thus be exempt from contract labour. Luanga said that he did not mind going to contract labour, but insisted on having back what he had paid to Lusase. I said I would write a letter to say that he should not

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go to contract labour and accordingly he left for the post with my letter.

Luanga returned quite satisfied a few days later, the *chefe* having decided in his favour. Two days later he went to the chief's village to complain of Lusase's actions. With him came Bartolomeu and Paulo. Ngombe, as Mwekalia, and thereby responsible for the relations between chief and people, acted as the presiding figure, more chairman than judge, although he spoke for some time on the case. Lusase defended himself by saying that it was not he but somebody else who had recommended Luanga for contract labour. This explanation was accepted by Luanga. Bartolomeu and Paulo received small sums of money from Lusase for acting as witnesses, and later Luanga left with Lusase for another village. Here they effected the succession of a man to his father's title of Mbesi (another ministerial position). Luanga was much pleased with his share of the fee.

578 627 648 Not only the personalities but many of the features of previous cases reappear here. Of the ways of acting which people choose, Ndonga and Lusase use self-help, Ndonga to recover a debt, and Lusase to uphold his prestige. Against Lusase, as against Kapapelo, a moot was formed. Lusase like Guilherme insisted on his responsibility to the post alone, when the opposition seemed to be using a 'civilized' person of a different category. Final decisions are obtained by appeals to the post but the risky nature of such procedures is shown by the desire to get a letter of recommendation. Luanga believed that Lusase had got him sent to contract labour just as Francisco believed (correctly) that Guilherme had got him recruited. Ngombe as Mwekalia is more successful here as arbitrator than in the moot at Kapapelo's. Finally we see the contrast again between the survival of formal recognition in symbol of the prestige of chieftaincy (the episode of the bull's leg) and its actual impotence [634] caught between *chefe* and people. The specific issue in this dispute turns on a conflict between a chief and his people, and it shows how a chief can be defeated in the same way that the first dispute showed a government headman being defeated.

627 648 Lusase's opponents had, as previously, other means of influencing the post. Gregorio had proposed getting a letter from the